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HAMMER & TONGS



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Socialist Party
1182 Broadway
N.Y., N.Y. 10001

The Vietnam Question

(3)

We reproduce here, so that the members will have all the material for discussion, the various documents pertaining to the SP attitude toward the Vietnam War.

This is the section on Southeast Asia and Vietnam from our 1965 Platform, adopted by the Convention in May, 1964:

China and Southeast Asia: American foreign policy, by what it has done and left undone, is in no small degree responsible for critical conditions in Southeast Asia. Our American policy toward China is one of the factors. It has been egregious folly to persist in refusing to recognize the effective government of over one-fifth of the people of the world. Washington is preposterous in asserting that Chiang, ingloriously driven out of China 15 years ago, is still entitled to China's seat as one of the Big Five in the U.N.'s Security Council. Chiang, who has never dared hold a plebiscite to confirm his power in Taiwan, today represents nothing but the American Seventh Fleet, and the whole world knows it. We are fantastic when we expect to have agreements on Southeast Asia - or on general disarmament - without Chinese assent.

The Socialist Party urgently demands immediate negotiation looking toward recognition of the effective government of China by the U.S. and, even more, by the U.N. Taiwan should be given representation in the Assembly of the U.N. and its independence recognized. Meanwhile travel to and nonmilitary trade with China should be permitted again.

In Vietnam the war of French colonialism against the Vietnamese people drove many into the arms of Ho Chi Minh's Communist-led Viet Minh. The Geneva settlement gave the U.S. a chance to demonstrate the democratic alternative to Communist totalitarianism in that country. Instead, America supported the Diem regime - which, in its authoritarianism and unpopularity, increasingly resembled the Bao Dai puppet state unsuccessfully supported by the French. When mass resentment against Diem finally expressed itself, much of democracy's political capital had already been forfeited and the change itself took the form of a military coup d'etat. As a natural consequence, the Communist Viet Cong grew in numbers and support. The Chinese Communists of course share blame for the situation; they have made the Vietnamese people a pawn in their effort to establish control over all of Southeast Asia. The tragic blindness of Western policy has helped them in their design.

At this time there is no easy solution. Vietnam has become so polarized that a policy of neutralization would be most difficult to pursue. Yet now the U.S. is spending lives and money in a cruel and unpopular war which seems headed toward another Dienbienphu. Not only Americans but tens of thousands of Vietnamese are dying in this ghastly war. As the military situation worsens, more and more American voices are urging that the war be carried to North Vietnam or to China itself. Such a policy would be all too likely to escalate into World War III, an outcome that would not "save" Southeast Asia or anything else, but would lay waste to the globe.

Therefore the Socialist Party demands that our government use every effort by negotiation to bring about neutralization of Vietnam and to maintain a genuine neutralization of Laos and Cambodia. Under no circumstances should men and money be invested further in war in Southeast Asia.

On June 19, 1965, the National Committee passed the resolution below. This is our general position at the present time and will remain so, unless it is replaced by a new resolution adopted by the National Committee or by a national membership referendum, until our next Convention.

The Socialist Party calls for an end to the war in Vietnam. We urge the president and the U.S. government to propose an immediate ceasefire and a prompt beginning of negotiations convened by the Geneva Nations of 1954 or by the United Nations, in which all parties concerned, including the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong, take part. Our aim should be the neutralization of S. Vietnam, and all of the former Indo-Chinese countries, under conditions guaranteeing their independence and the rights of their political, religious and trade union minorities.

We urge an immediate publicly announced halt to the inexcusable air attacks upon N. Vietnam. We urge the Johnson Administration to nullify its recently enunciated policy involving the use of U.S. ground forces in direct combat. These policies, which are tantamount to undeclared war, have been initiated without Congressional approval of a declaration of war and can only accelerate the progress toward full scale war in Southeast Asia. We reiterate the demand at our last convention that there be no additional aid, either of men or money, in this war.

Nothing can be gained by continuation of this disastrous war. It must be brought to a halt now.

The following motion, written by Comrade Martin Oppenheimer in February, has been presented to the National Committee meetings in February and June but was not accepted. A motion to submit this resolution to a national membership referendum has not yet received the required endorsement of locals representing 20% of the membership, but will probably receive such endorsement by Nov. 15. If this happens, the ballots for such a referendum will be mailed by Dec. 1 to each SP member.

OPPENHEIMER RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM: The National Committee of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., unequivocally condemns the so-called reprisal raids conducted by U.S. military, aircraft, and aircraft of the South Vietnam Government supported by the U.S., upon the territory of North Vietnam.

Not only do the raids serve as a provocation to North Vietnam to enter directly and expand the war if that government were so minded, but they serve to re-solidify the alliance of the Soviet Union, Communist China, and North Vietnam and thus play directly into the hands of extreme elements on the Communist side. The New York Times has even pointed out that the American "response" is playing directly into the hands of Communist China by taking actions that - however defensive in intent - lead to a steadily escalating and hence more dangerous conflict. But even apart from these immediate considerations, we believe the U.S. raids will functioned, possibly intentionally so, to divert the attention of the American

people from a concern with undertaking realistic negotiations to end the war. The raids served to confront us with a situation in which negotiations are made more difficult, thus bailing out, for the time being, the military policies of both the U.S. mission and the South Vietnam government, and obscuring their disastrous course.

We do not accept the argument which says that the raids made on the territory of a country with which we are not now at war were made only in retaliation or response to increased terror employed by that country through the instrument of "its" guerilla fighters. There is reason to believe, on the contrary, that the guerilla raids were carried out in the fashion which has now become typical in South Vietnam: with the collaboration of local peasants, and with arms captured from the U.S. or U.S. supplied South Vietnamese. There are few grounds to believe that raids on alleged North Vietnamese "staging areas" will serve to weaken the efforts of the Viet Cong under such circumstances. To the contrary, such reasoning further serves to hide the real situation in that tragic area.

The real situation is that the U.S. government has for a long time supported a series of corrupt, dictatorial, and unpopular regimes in South Vietnam, regimes which have successively failed to deal with the problems of poverty and self-determination in the area. Under these circumstances, the pro-Communist Front of National Liberation has grown stronger and stronger until it now controls vast portions of South Vietnam. Left to itself, the regime would surely collapse in short order for lack of popular support. Yet we have chosen, in the name of protecting the "free world," to stand behind, and participate in, the most brutal policies of the South Vietnamese government, including continual suppression of democratic rights, refusal to engage in real social reforms, and large-scale killing, torturing, and imprisonment of people opposed to the government.

Such a policy is self-defeating. It can lead only to a takeover by the Viet Cong, which can perhaps be delayed at great cost in American and South Vietnamese lives, but cannot in the long run be avoided. Or, it can lead, as the situation in which we presently find ourselves well may, to an escalation of the war into another futile Korea, or worse. Ultimately, there is the risk of escalation into a thermo-nuclear war.

We agree with persons of many nations, including within our own country, who urge the convocation of the Geneva Powers, or the intervention of the United Nations, to achieve an immediate cease-fire and a negotiated settlement of not only the dispute between the Viet Cong and the South Vietnamese government, but also of all disputes in the former Indo-China area, including the participation of all interested parties, particularly North Vietnam, Mainland China, Laos and Cambodia.

Apart from this we urge, and we have instructed our administrative secretary to so communicate, all of our sister parties in the Socialist and Labor International in nations in any way involved in the Vietnam war, to act immediately and forcefully to get their respective governments to sever further military and political commitments in any alliance with the U.S. government concerning Vietnam. Hence we strongly support the minority of the British Labor Party, our sister party, which opposed their government's surrender to current U.S. military policy in Vietnam.

The Vietnam Question

We reiterate the demand made at our last convention, namely "that the government make every effort by negotiation to bring about the neutralization of Vietnam and to maintain a genuine neutralization of Laos and Cambodia. Under no circumstances should men and money be invested further in the war in Southeast Asia." This means, in effect, that we urge the withdrawal of American men and materials of war from the Vietnam area, at once.

The Socialist Party's National Committee applauds the courageous "Declaration of Conscience" recently made by some Americans, in which they state their conscientious refusal to cooperate with the U.S. government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. We believe this to be one of many indications that the American people seek an end to this war, and we hope the Declaration will serve as a warning to the U.S. government to draw back from this perilous course.

We would hope that the lesson of Vietnam would not be lost upon the American people. We would hope that Americans might learn that Communism cannot be contained by military might and by U.S. support for self-styled "anti-Communist" despots around the world. Only constructive, democratic, and revolutionary (in the sense of really solving the basic problems of the common people, even if it means radical reworking of governments and economic systems) policies can successfully compete with totalitarian Communism for the allegiance of the world's peoples. In a word, only socialism can serve as a successful peaceful alternative to communism.

COMMENTS: NORMAN THOMAS

(7)

Dear Comrades:

I write to express my strong support of the existing declaration on Vietnam, as opposed to Comrade Oppenheimer's proposal.

All, or almost all, of us Socialists have steadily opposed any military intervention in Vietnam and are dedicated to the end of the war. Nevertheless, by military intervention, the U.S. has incurred some obligations towards its allies in Vietnam. A simple withdrawal of American forces would almost certainly mean a communist military victory with a great toll of bloodshed added to what has already been spilt.

We have to recognize the existence of the Vietcong and the reasons for its existence, but we are not communists and we are aware of Vietcong's type of terrorism. We do not want to go out of our way to add strength to a Chinese imperial communism (or to a Russian) in Southeast Asia, and that would be the effect of simple withdrawal.

The results we want, or at least the best results we can hope for, can far better be achieved by an immediate Presidential request for a cease-fire accompanied by cessation of bombing, the cease-fire to be supervised by the UN or a committee of neutral states, no further military aid to be sent by anybody into Vietnam, and an immediate beginning of negotiations. It should be clear that Vietcong or its political arm must be a principal negotiator. The President has already talked of unconditional negotiations but the result, as near as possible, ought to represent the wishes of the Vietnamese people, to provide security against massacres by any side, and certainly to bring about a withdrawal of all foreign military troops from Vietnamese soil.

Perhaps the President's request for a cease-fire might be rejected but it most emphatically ought to be tried, and I don't think it will be rejected. I should then want to look for some other grounds of withdrawal but I am thoroughly convinced this cease-fire approach is the best approach. We have in any case an uphill job in struggling to get peace and to bring our troops home. I think that, in the present mood of the American people, a simple statement that we must at once get out would add to the difficulty of our struggle.

The Oppenheimer resolution would strengthen, not weaken, the forces of "no negotiation" which threaten not only the peace of mankind but even the preservation of such gains we are making here at home. Negotiation along lines I have printed out would at least take some account of the fact that not all Vietnamese love the Vietcong, that about a million migrated to South Vietnam in 1954-55 to escape communism. Atrocities are atrocities, whether it is Americans burning the villages or Vietcong's many brutal executions of village leaders. The answer should be an arranged peace, not a simple withdrawal. That must be tried first. We cannot dictate what follows, but we can arrange better rather than worse conditions for some evolution which will give social justice and democracy a better chance.

Fraternal yours,

Norman Thomas

The Vietnam resolution was adopted in a way that had to lead to misunderstandings and feelings of being cheated.

First, it should be stressed that there was no specific convention discussion of the Vietnam plank in the Foreign Policy Platform. My own amending substitute was referred to the incoming NC without discussion because there wasn't enough time left. The Foreign Policy Platform, as a whole, was adopted in the twilight of the convention, when a large number of delegates had left.

The absence of discussion prevented a possible clarification, thru confrontation, which would have exposed the ambiguities of the Vietnam plank.

The resolution spoke out of both sides of its mouth. Partisans of various interpretations could point, with some justification, to parts of the resolution as expressive of their own orientation. A discussion would, at least, have overcome the written doubletalk and established the sense of the convention.

True, there were fragmentary references to foreign policy issues when the International Affairs Committee introduced the Foreign Policy Platform, to which I counterposed a policy statement with a sharply different orientation. My resolution was a general policy statement, without specific planks on particular crisis areas.

The overwhelming majority of delegates decided, at this point, to adopt the Committee's Platform as a basis for discussion and amendment. The majority that voted thus was composed of delegates who, like the committee members themselves, differed sharply on substantive issues. Hence, this vote could not be taken as an approval for particular planks in the platform.

Let me make it clear. I lay no claim whatsoever to the adopted Vietnam resolution.

I think, however, it is bad taste for people (like McReynolds & Co.) who preferred for unknown, tactical reasons, to "paper-over" differences in the International Affairs Committee, to claim that the convention gave them a clear policy mandate.

If the committee wanted to say that it was for immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam, why didn't it say so in these very words?

Conversely, if the committee favored only a negotiated withdrawal, why did it permit the inclusion of a sentence whose practical effect is immediate cessation of the war?

I suspect that both sides wanted to avoid a head-on confrontation. Why? I don't know. All I can say is it's a hell of a way to deal with a serious question.

It is to the discredit of the convention that it found time to discuss, at length, all sorts of fine details in the domestic platform, yet could not manage to arrange for a discussion, in depth, of the crucial foreign policy issues (like Vietnam) which were bound to be so significant in the life of the party and the country.

Frank P. Zeidler

Recent press releases indicate that the Radical Right in the U.S. may be engaged in an arms build-up for a kind of internal take-over of the United States under conditions favorable to the Rightists. Reports from widely scattered districts in the nation indicate that the arming of the Radical Right is proceeding at a dangerous pace.

A key group involved in this activity is the organization Minutemen, headed by Robert De Pugh, Norborne, Missouri. De Pugh has contended that the country must be ready to engage in guerilla action if Communists successfully attack the United States. The Wall Street Journal on September 22, 1964, reported De Pugh as saying that his organization had reports on "68,000 leftists" who are presumably to be politically liquidated on the "Der Tag", the day of the Right Wing takeover.

On February 14, 1965, the Milwaukee Journal, in a signed article, reported that federal authorities in Wisconsin were "convinced that some extremist groups in Wisconsin are arming themselves with automatic weapons..." The article reported that FBI agents were investigating the activities of groups of the extreme Left and Right. Since 1960 27 persons were arrested in Wisconsin for violations of the national fire-arms act, which requires persons who purchase fully automatic weapons to pay a \$200 tax on each weapon. Weapons include machine guns and automatic weapons.

W. G. McCutcheon, supervisor of the alcohol and tobacco tax unit in Milwaukee, was reported as convinced that these guns were being sold to persons on the extreme right and extreme left, for use against political opponents. It is reported that there are 1,000 Minutemen in Wisconsin.

The arms build-up coincides with a stepped up program of the Radical right to penetrate police departments and to capture school boards. As an example, the Berkeley, Calif. police are participating in the Fred Schwartz' Christian Anti-Communist School. Schwartz is one of the leading Rightist propagandists in the nation who has been financially successful with his Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.

Penetration of the police departments is strongly advocated by the John Birch Society and its founder Robert Welch. This Radical Right group circulates literature posing as a champion of the police against Communists and "their Liberal dupes." A dangerous reaction now found among the radical right is the attempt to use the hostility many white people have against the Negro civil rights movement, and their fear of such events as the Harlem riots, to win new converts to Burchism. Close observers of ultra-conservative organizations say that the temper of the Right is highly charged. A recent radio listener-panel discussion on Chicago Station WBEM "Night Line" on March 14, 1965, on the subject of civil rights in Alabama brought highly emotional Rightists to their telephones to denounce the clergy and others participating in the civil rights movement.

The Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith recently reported that the Radical Right "scored new and ominous gains" in the United States as a result of the 1964 election campaign. The literature and recruits to the Radical Right made among the unsophisticated have had a serious effect on the future of American democracy.

The Radical Right in its internal build up attacks "Liberals, Socialists, Communists." The Liberals and the Socialists are now considered more dangerous than

the Communists, because the Soviet Union has made some accommodation in business dealings with the American business class. Hence the headlines of the Radical Right feature attacks on Socialism. One newcomer to the Radical Right hustling, Marilyn Manion, daughter of Clarence Manion, promoter of the Manion Forum, a Radical Right organization, recently appeared in Wisconsin and spoke to groups in Milwaukee's western and Northern suburbs, which are areas harboring some of the strongest elements of the Radical Right in the nation. These areas, as the 9th Wisconsin Congressional District, gave Alabama Gov. George Wallace a resounding vote in the Democratic presidential preference election in Wisconsin in 1964. The vote represented a large Republican cross-over.

Miss Manion attacked the income tax, federal education, "ambitious union czars", and progressive federal legislation. The attack on liberalism and socialism thus appears primarily to be the cry of the wealthy against paying federal taxes and against union organization.

Midwest trade unions and liberal groups do not appear to have responded to the propaganda and arms build-up of the radical right. It appears that some union leaders are too busy trying to become a part of "The Establishment" to comprehend that some of the businessmen they are trying to associate with are seeking to destroy unions and progressive legislation and are supporting those who are advocating force and violence as the means of doing so.

In California in January, State Senator J. Eugene McAteer, a San Francisco Democrat, said he was going to seek legislation to outlaw private armies. His pattern has not been widely followed.

The liberal and Socialist movement around the nation appear to have a new task looming ahead. This task is to prevent a Rightist take-over such as happened in Austria in 1934 under the Dollfuss regime. Liberals and Socialists must demand federal and state investigation of the arms build-up and the subversive activities of the Radical Right. New legislation must be proposed to curb private armies and private possession of automatic weapons. The labor unions must be alerted, and the police departments and school boards saved from the vicious influence of the Radical Right.

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-- Reprinted from The Missouri Whipsaw, June, 1965

Last April Mario Savio, exhausted from leading the University of California Free Speech Movement, withdrew from school, declared he was taking a vacation, and disappeared. Did Conservatives rejoice? They trembled! With Savio physically absent, his spectre began to haunt America. Like the Loch Ness Monster or Flying Saucers, Mario Savio began to be reported everywhere.

Thus it was assumed, when we had our May Day Picnic in Columbia, that this would be an irresistible lodestone to the Phantom. Even before we finished cleaning up the potato chips, the phone began to ring with questions. I answered truthfully that Mario Savio was not now, nor had he ever been, in Columbia, Mo. But this was not enough for news-hounds from Rolla, and laying their fingers aside their noses they deduced that since they didn't like either Savio or Columbia, he MUST be in Columbia.

Furthermore, during that same week there was a former U. of Cal. student arrested in Columbia on a morals charge. This unfortunate, grasping for a place in the anonymous crowd, had been telling people that he was an FSM leader. He has since been committed to a mental institution, but not before the Rolla Daily News splashed the following headline on page one of May 19: ADMITTED LEADER OF RIOTS IN CALIFORNIA ARRESTED IN COLUMBIA, HELD FOR SODOMY. And in the story, this student was associated with "Mario Savio, who was in Columbia meeting recently with Dr. William Allen. . ."

Though I wrote the newspaper and told them that their story was full of lies, it was too good for the Right Wing to pass up. The Mid-Missouri Freedom Center pasted it on their front window in Jeff City and handed out Xeroxed copies to browsing tourists. In St. Louis the Patriotic Publications Review & Digest ran it up as an "Alert Flash" and mailed it all over the State. God knows how many other screwball Rightist journals have since copied it. . .

The lesson lies in the Rightist reaction. In their world, things happen solely because of leaders. . . To the Right, mass action on the Berkeley campus was all touched off by one 22-year-old, scruffy, charismatic student of philosophy. This is the same reasoning which led the crowd that heckled Claude Lightfoot to see before them not an aging bald man with worn-out ideas expressed in moderate phraseology, but the Devil Incarnate. But this is also the reasoning which says that if Vietnamese peasants fight against a corrupt and brutal dictatorship or if the people of the Dominican Republic try to overthrow a Military Junta, it is solely because there is a Communist in the woodpile.

Let us call this by its proper name: paranoia. The only cure for this sickness is in the recognition and acceptance of reality. But what in American education, culture, economic relationships, political leadership, civic structure, and news reporting encourages the recognition of reality? This is why the work of the Socialist Party is of such crucial importance: because it is based on the assumption that the propagation of critical reasoning can work. The Right errs in fearing Mario Savio. It is correct in trembling before reality, because that is what eventually destroy them along with the rotten structure they support.

-- Bill Allen

Party Notes

Socialists from New York to California joined in the Socialist Party Camp over the Labor Day week-end at the Workmen's Circle Camp in South Haven, Michigan.

Saul Mendelson of the SP National Committee and Sidney Lens, well known author, were featured panelists on a discussion of "Democratic Social Revolution in Latin America." Don Slaman, Director of the Civil Rights Dept., AFL-CIO, and Bruce Miller, Detroit labor attorney, led the second planned discussion on "The Limits of the 'Great Society'."

An unscheduled session was arranged so that Michael Hannon of Los Angeles could report on civil liberties, the police, and the recent disturbances in Los Angeles. Virgil Vogel, of Chicago, recently returned from visits to the Apache and Hopi reservations in Arizona, led a fourth discussion on the problems of the Indians there.

Heavy rain and cold winds cut down on recreational activities, especially swimming in Lake Michigan, but did not prevent a moonlit bonfire on the beach.

Socialist Party member Michael Hannon recently finished a ten-day tour of the Midwest for the Socialist Party. His tour, starting Sept. 2, included Detroit, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Houston, Indianapolis, plus two days at the Socialist Party Camp at South Haven. He returned to Chicago early in October for a speech of the University of Chicago. Locals report that he is "a terrific speaker with a sense of humor," and Local Indiana has his speech there recorded on tape and available for rental for \$2 (write Jim Pond; 2036 N. Delaware, near; Indianapolis, Ind. 46202).

His recent outdoor appearance at the University of California at Berkeley drew an audience of 1500. The meeting was organized by the Norman Thomas Chapter, Young Peoples Socialist League. He has also spoken to many groups in the greater Los Angeles area during this past summer.

The Socialist Party has a new Local and Indiana finally has a full-fledged Socialist Organization. Local Central Indiana was granted a charter on June 12, and on June 20 met to adopt its constitution and elect its officers. Chairman is Mary Donovan Haggood, Richard and Barbara Congress are vice-presidents, James Pond is secretary, and Mike Gurason is the treasurer. Congratulations to the new Local and best wishes for its future activity.

The Wisconsin State Socialist Party recently lost the offices they had occupied for fifty-five years, when the building was torn down to make way for a new expressway. New address is 1012 N. Third Street, Milwaukee. During the move, certain records and library materials were donated to the Milwaukee Public Library. Minutes, correspondence, books, pictorial records, campaign materials and other items antedating 1960 were transferred to the library, where they will be catalogued and made available for research purposes.

The sixty-fifth annual picnic of the Wisconsin Socialist Party was held in Milwaukee on Sept. 12 with Michael Hannon of Los Angeles among the featured speakers invited by State Chairman William O. Hart.

Local Berks, in Reading, Pa., announces that their Labor Lyceum lecture series will be held again this year. While dates and speakers have not yet been completely chosen, the topics will be: Why Should the U.S. Get Out of Vietnam?, What Should Be the U.S. Role in Latin America?, Whither the Negro Revolution?, Birchites, Schools and Police, What's Wrong With Urban Renewal in Reading?, and Is Medicare Enough?

Party Notes

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Personals: National Committee members are traveling these days. Robert Alexander has left for a year in Latin America, William S. Allen for a year in Germany, and Ernst Papenek left the end of September for nine months in Germany, Austria, Israel, and Japan, including three months as a visiting professor at the University of Hiroshima. . . . Socialist Party speakers on New York radio stations this summer include David McReynolds, who appeared twice on WNBC (Long John Nebel show), in panels on "The Ultra-Right" and "Imperialism," and Irwin Suall, who appeared twice on WOR discussing ultra-right activity on the all-night Randy Show and in an early-evening debate. . . . Sen. Terence McCarthy debated Eliot Janeway, often unofficial spokesman for the Johnson administration, on the economics of the Vietnam war over NY radio station WOR. . . . In Philadelphia Carl Dahlgren was interviewed on "Fabian Socialism" over WFEN's Red Benson show. . . . Norman Thomas made his traditional Labor Day appearance in Detroit again this year, and was a featured speaker at the Michigan ACLU state conference in August. Since then he has spoken at St. Bonaventure Jesuit Seminary, Brown University, University of Nebraska, University of New York at Stony Brook, University of Chicago at Champaign, Yale, Wesleyan, MIT, and Emory University, Atlanta. He also spoke in Philadelphia for the ACLU and at the University of Pennsylvania. . . . Max Shachtman spoke on Communism to the Ethical Culture Society, and John Lester Lewine spoke on Latin America to the Tanguy Cooperative Homesteads, both in Philadelphia. . . . Mike Parker and Hal Draper taught classes at Berkeley Independent Socialist Club's summer sessions, while Ann Draper and Paul Jacobs spoke at a Berkeley rally supporting the California farm workers' strike against the grape farms. . . . C. H. Mayer, 8 Church St., Sumter, N.C., writes that any comrade coming into his area should stop off and visit. The local college (Negro) needs speakers, and any speaker already in the area on another engagement would be welcome. . . . Erich Fromm's most recent book is Socialist Humanism (Doubleday), and Hal Draper's new The New Student Revolution (on Berkeley events) is available in paperback. . . . New Yorkers tell us that this year is Harry Laidler's 63rd year in the SP (he joined in 1902), and that August marked Samuel H. Friedman's 50 continuous years of membership. . . . James McNamara, a member of the Lower Manhattan Branch, is the Liberal Party candidate for City Council in the 27th District (he also has Republican endorsement). . . . Syd Pykefsky has recently become acting chairman of the Bensonhurst Liberal Party and a member of its Trade Union Council.

Activities of SP Locals and Branches

Note: Summer is traditionally the time when SP locals do not plan much activity. However, we had reports of some meetings (see below) and there were undoubtedly others. Again, all locals are urged to report all meetings to the National Office.

- 6-18 New York City: "Poverty and Politics in NYC," Nicholas Kisburg, I. D. Robbins, John Lester Lewine
- 6-20 Central Indiana: business meeting and picnic
- 6-25 San Francisco: business meeting
- 7-4 Detroit: SP picnic
- 7-9 Los Angeles: "Democracy vs. Dictatorship in the Dominican Republic," Dr. Harry Kantor
- 7-10 Wisconsin: SP-State Executive Committee meeting
- 7-15 Norman Thomas YPSL: Vietnam debate, Hal Draper and Bob Pickus (tape)
- 7-17 Columbia SP: business meeting
- 7-21 Washington State SP: Vietnam
- 7-22 Norman Thomas YPSL: "A Political Solution in Asia," Alex Garber
- 7-29 Norman Thomas YPSL: "The New Left: A Survey of Recent Writing and Action," Jim Burnett
- 7-31 Los Angeles: "The Los Angeles Police Department and Political Action," Michael Hannon
- 8-8 YPSL Camp, Norman Thomas Chapter, Calif.
- 8-8 Houston Socialist Forum
- 8-13 Los Angeles: business meeting
- 8-20 Norman Thomas YPSL: "Police and Civil Rights in Los Angeles," Michael Hannon
- 8-21 Wisconsin SP-State Executive and Milwaukee Co. Central Committee Meeting
- 8-28 Los Angeles: "How New is the 'New Left'?" Hal Draper
- 9-2 Houston: Michael Hannon tour
- 9-6 SP Camp, South Haven, Mich.
- 9-8 Central Indiana SP: "The Los Angeles Police and the Riots," Michael Hannon
- 9-8 Muncie YPSL: "The Los Angeles Riots," Michael Hannon
- 9-9 Cleveland: Michael Hannon on Los Angeles Police and Riots
- 9-10 11 Detroit and Ann Arbor: Michael Hannon on Los Angeles Police and Riots
- 9-12 Cleveland: business meeting
- 9-12 Wisconsin: 65th Annual SP Picnic, Milwaukee, with Michael Hannon
- 9-17 San Francisco: business meeting
- Los Angeles: business meeting
- Brooklyn Branch: "Shifting Israeli Politics," Abe Friend
- San Francisco: Jim Burnett on Vietnam
- 9-24 Los Angeles: "Watts - A Symptom"
- 9-25 Central Indiana SP: business meeting
- 9-26 Center Philadelphia: business meeting
- 9-28 Los Angeles: Benefit jazz performance for the Michael Hannon Defense Fund
- 9-29 Local Berks (Reading, Pa.), business meeting
- 10-1 San Francisco: Continuing Vietnam discussion
- 10-2 Cleveland: business meeting
- 10-4 Bloomington YPSL: Sydney Lens on Vietnam
- 10-5 Muncie YPSL: Sydney Lens on Vietnam

Activities of SP Locals and Branches

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- 10-5 Democratic Socialist Club, University of Chicago affiliate of SP: "The Meaning of the Los Angeles Riot," Michael Hannon
- 10-8 Los Angeles: Varying Socialist Views on Viet Nam
- 10-13 Norman Thomas YPSL began regular Wednesday cadre classes; at least six sessions planned
- 10-18 New York City: "New York City Political Developments, 1965," membership meeting
- 10-20 San Francisco: Francis Heisler on conscientious objection and the draft
- 10-21 Norman Thomas YPSL, Berkeley: business meeting
- 10-23 Detroit: "What's New in the Great Society?" (also business meeting)
- 10-26 Center Philadelphia Branch: business meeting
- 10-28 Boston: business meeting
- 11-7 Central Indiana SP: business meeting
- 11-20 Illinois SP: Annual Debs Day Dinner, with Bayard Rustin and Tom Kahn, at Midland Hotel in downtown Chicago
- 12-3 New York City: Annual Debs Day Dinner in honor of Ernst Papanek, with Claude Brown, Norman Thomas, LeRoy Bowman and Ed Gettlieb; Hotel Sheraton-Atlantic, New York City

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Letter from the National Secretary

Dear Comrades,

As most of you have heard by now, I have resigned from my position as National Administrative Secretary, effective January 24, 1966. I plan to attend Columbia University to take my master's degree in Library Science. Since I will be staying in the New York Area, I will be available to assist my successor in any way possible, and will of course continue as an active member of Local New York.

I would like to express at this time my gratitude to all those elected to the NC and NAC, who, without exception have always shown me courtesy and consideration, and to Comrade Steinsapir in particular who, not only as a member of the Office Committee but also as Chairman of Local New York, has done so much to make the operation of the National Office as smooth as possible, organizationally and financially. I would also like to pay tribute to the cooperation of the many, many members of the SP in New York and throughout the country, whose letters and telephone calls have made my work so rewarding. The warm and friendly associations developed by mail and by face-to-face contacts have gone far beyond the organizational support expected by a national officer, and have added greatly to the personal pleasure I have received from these past three years in the National Office.

Faternally,

Betty Elkin

Betty Elkin

National Administrative Secretary

FUND DRIVE REPORT

October 26, 1965

The Fund Drive is off with a bang! In less than a month we have raised 24% of our quota, thanks to an unusually prompt and generous response from 113 members. Many of the locals, including Los Angeles and Chicago, have yet to hold their fund-raising affairs and parties. Let's keep up the pace! Have you sent in your check yet?

	QUOTA	AMOUNT	PER CENT
California at Large	\$ 250	543	213
Foreign	150	100	66
Cleveland	800	420	53
Local Berks	200	105	53
Texas	30	15	50
Nassau	600	251	42
Washington State	100	40	40
Pennsylvania at Large	150	60	40
New Orleans & La.	30	10	33
Bay Area	750	238	32
Florida	80	25	31
National Office	500	140	28
Ohio at Large	100	26	26
Iowa	100	25	25
Pittsburgh	200	44	22
Central Philadelphia	200	42	21
Northern Jersey	50	10	20
Minnesota	50	10	20
Northern New England	100	20	20
Suffolk	100	19	19
New York City	2400	437	18
Wisconsin	300	52	17
Missouri	100	10	10
Los Angeles	1300	110	8
Illinois	1200	107	9
Massachusetts	500	35	7
Washington DC	200	5	3
Indiana	200	3	2
Ann Arbor	50	1	2
New York at Large	250	5	2
Boulder	100	1	1
Detroit	400	5	1
Arizona	150	0	0
Central Jersey	50	0	0
Columbus	30	0	0
Toledo	30	0	0
West Philadelphia	50	0	0
Connecticut	50	0	0
New Jersey at Large	100	0	0
	\$12,000	\$2914	24.2%

The Socialist Party of New York

invites you to its annual

DEBS DAY DINNER

in honor of Dr. Ernst Papanek

Subject: The Negro Community and
Re-education

Chairman: Norman Thomas

Speakers:

Le Roy Bowman, Professor Emeritus
of Sociology, Brooklyn College

Edward P. Gottlieb, Principal,
Public School 165, Manhattan

Claude Brown, Author of Manchild
in the Promised Land

Ernst Papanek, Educator, Socialist,
Humanist

* * *

Friday, December 3, 1965, 6:30 P.M.
Hotel Sheraton-Atlantic
33rd and Broadway, N.Y.C.

Reservations - \$7.50
1182 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10001

The Socialist Party of Illinois

invites you to its annual

DEBS DAY DINNER

Subject: After the Watts Explosion

Speakers:

Norman Hill, Field Representative,
Industrial Union Department

Tom Kahn, Executive Director,
League for Industrial Democracy

* * *

Saturday, November 20, 1965, 7:00 P.M.
The Midland Hotel
172 W. Adams Street, Chicago

Reservations - \$7.50
64 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Ill. 60605

FUND DRIVE

Socialist Party
1182 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10001

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ for the 1965 Fund Drive.

Please credit my contribution to the quota set for _____ (Local or State).

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____